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AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST *is;* but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is *not*, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry, and surely a trustworthy witness for the point he makes. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are, as I was a year ago, misled by supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community, when it seems no more to be the organ of that body than though such body had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, with others, and find it "first best" of its class. Of all the *solidaire* Socialistic organs, it stands without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Old subscribers express enthusiastic appreciation of the paper, whenever they say any thing of its character; but it is evident that the hard times are bearing so heavily on the tax-burdened people, that they find it difficult to spare a dollar or two for a paper they really prize. Now and then an able-bodied man writes sending a dollar and apologizing for not sending two to pay for a full year, by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks! Others, yet worse off, ask us to give them a month or two more in which to prepare for a similar payment. Such letters touch us in a tender spot, and we shall do what we can, without actually entering on the credit system, to help bridge over present poverty. In a few instances wealthy readers of the SOCIALIST have sent five dollars or more to pay for the new volume, the amount in excess of two dollars being intended as a gift to us. Such cases are rare, but they suggest a method whereby the real spirit of Communism might act so as to relieve poor people and at the same time extend the circulation of our paper, notwithstanding the hard times. Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription, and who is interested in our cause, send the dollar to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would like the SOCIALIST sent, *and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume.* That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack. There are plenty of men who can spare a dollar for such a cause as this, if they can but be appealed to. The success of any such plan depends on the earnestness with which our readers themselves will advocate and make it known.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

"The American Socialist, Oneida, N. Y."

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CHOOSE AND PAY.

While we advocate Communism for all the higher purposes of life, it is but fair to admit that isolation offers some privileges peculiar to itself. It enables a man, for instance, to gratify his personal whims and preferences in a small way, without interference; it leaves him freedom of movement to the same extent that he is without the embarrassing ties of love. A bachelor in this sense is the most independent man. The married are less so, though it is commonly supposed that they more than gain in happiness what they sacrifice of private independence to the family relation; and the Communist is probably removed farther still from the irresponsible freedom that belongs to the isolated individual. That is to say, he surrenders, more than either of the parties referred to, the privilege of personal choice and gratification, to the interest of the organization of which he is a member, and chooses to move only in concert with others.

The isolated householder, if possessed of means, has the privilege of setting his table six times a day, dressing as he pleases, sporting a fine horse, going and coming without question, and spending money wherever and for whatever he lists. He is an autocrat, in a limited sphere; and to many this is the highest happiness conceivable. Such persons should be contented where they are, and not think of Communism. The compensating advantages for which the Communist is willing to give up such privileges, and which he finds in organization, are: great economy of means, increase of strength by combination, luxuries for all by the application of art and taste to a common home, privileges of integral education, social culture, and a generally broader style of living than belongs to private familism. What the individual surrenders of incidental independence is amply redeemed in the growth and beautifying of the whole of which he is a part.

It is very important that persons adopting Communism should see these advantages in such a light as to be willing manfully to pay the price for them without grumbling. You cannot bring the small caprices of individualism into Communism and carry them both along together. You cannot eat your cake and keep it too. Isolation offers one set of inducements, Communism offers another; choose in which of them you will take passage, pay your fare, and be content.

DIVISION OF LABOR.

The political economists, from Adam Smith down to Arthur Latham Perry, grow eloquent when they touch upon the question of division of labor. This, they all tell us, is the grand means of increasing production and perfecting its results. The old illustration, introduced by Dr. Smith in his "Wealth of Nations," is often cited, and admirably answers its purpose of showing how greatly the processes of production are facilitated by the division of labor. In an establishment employing ten persons Dr. Smith found (and this was nearly a century ago) that 48,000 pins were made in a day, when probably not more than 200 would have been made if each individual had performed all the varied processes alone.

There are many other advantages besides improved dexterity resulting from division of labor. Prof. Perry sums them up as follows:

"2. The saving of the time which is commonly lost in passing from one species of work to another, and in the change of place, position and tools.

"3. The invention of a great number of machines which facilitate and abridge labor in all its departments. Because the simple task which complete division of labor gives to each operator is precisely what machinery may most easily be made to perform, and what the operator, if intelligent, will be most likely to devise machinery for.

"4. The saving of the waste of material, partly as the result of this improved dexterity; and frequently, also, as the result of the shorter time required to finish up the product.

"5. The more economical distribution of labor by classing the operatives according to their strength, skill and experience. The easier parts may be performed by women and by children, whose labor is less expensive; the ruder parts by ruder hands; and only the more difficult processes by the most skillful workmen, who must be highly paid. Next to the first, this advantage is the most important.

"6. There is a saving in tools. The various implements, being now in constant use, yield a better return for their original cost; and therefore their owners can afford to have them of a better quality, and this, too, facilitates production."

The political economists do not stop with this enumeration of the advantages of division of labor. They affirm, what is obviously true, that without division of labor very few things would be produced at all. "As to the numerous comforts and luxuries of civilized life there are few that could be made from beginning to end by a single man, unaided by previous accumulations resulting from division of labor. For be it remembered, he must also make his own tools, there having been previously no mining, no forging, no wood-cutting for him. He could not make a pin, a button, a shoe-tie."

And yet how many departments of industry there are in which little or no advantage is taken of the principle of division of labor! Consider, for example, that department wherein there is the most unattractive drudgery and the most need of its application—*household labor.* Watch the daily routine of any housewife, and see how completely she is debarred from all the benefits resulting from this principle. Observe the lack of that skill and dexterity which would result from continuous attention to a more limited range of duties; the countless losses of time in the ever-recurring changes of employment; consider how little her labor is aided by machinery; notice how at one moment she does what properly belongs to stronger hands, and at the next moment occupies herself with what a small child might easily perform. And, worst of all, there is no hope, absolutely no hope, for radical improvement in her circumstances—no hope that she may reap the advantages of this great principle of modern civilization—so long as individualism controls household arrangements. The evil may be partially avoided by those who can afford the patience and expense of keeping a Bridget or Dinah; but the millions of housewives will go on as they have done, distracted from morning till night by the demands upon their attention and labor; now doing a man's work, and anon a child's, and accomplishing comparatively little, and that little often imperfectly. Nothing appears more patent than that coöperation (to say nothing of Communism) might abolish a large proportion of household and kitchen drudgery, while securing food and all the other great necessaries of life in greater abundance, of improved quality, and at reduced expense. Enlightened selfishness, were there no higher principle, should lead to coöperation for the purpose of gaining the rewards promised by the division of labor. Every housewife might be an artist in some branch of industry: one woman has natural talents adapting her to excel as a cook; another, talents that would make her eminent as a superintendent of children; another, talents for order and economy; and so on. Now, as household matters are arranged, not one of these persons may be able fully to develop her natural gifts; the chances are that each will go through life doing a hundred things indifferently well, and so not fully pleasing herself or others. If men do not look at this matter philosophically, and devise forms of coöperation which will facilitate the extension of the great principle of the division of labor to household industry, it is not at all unlikely that the women will by and by urge still more radical changes.

Of course, the principle of political economy we are considering cannot be restricted to household matters in its application to women: it will demand and ultimately secure the right of every woman to pursue that employment in life for which she is best adapted. We speak particularly of household industry only because our attention is called to it as a department in which there is almost universal need of changes in its facilities and arrangements.

The objections urged against division of labor: that it makes work monotonous; that it dwarfs mental and physical powers; and that it makes one's prosperity dependent in too great a degree on a single branch of business, apply with great force in many cases. We can readily believe that a man who should spend his life

in working at pin-heads alone would be likely to have rather a poor head himself, and no one would think of developing an integral man by setting him to work for life at one of the one hundred and odd branches of the art of watch-making. But these objections do not apply to such divisions of labor as we are urging in household industries. The accomplished cook is more like the finisher, who understands the construction of every part of a watch, than the one who understands only how to make its one-hundredth part. There can be no monotony in superintending the table arrangements of coöperative households; the study of desirable combinations and artistic methods of cooking would call forth the mental powers; and for a long time no thoroughly instructed cook will lack opportunity for remunerative employment. The same considerations apply to other branches of household industry. The introduction of the principle of division of labor would tend to displace drudgery by artistic skill, and to ennoble every necessary duty.

That all this is impossible without coöperation is evident; and that it can be fully accomplished with coöperation alone must, it would seem, be determined in the early future.

CIVILIZATION AND COMMUNISM.

III.

We may gain a more graphic view of the subject discussed in our previous papers, by conceiving of civilization as a ladder, the lower end of which, standing on the earth, is hidden in the darkness of the most abject savagery, while the upper end is lost to our view in the dazzling splendors of Pentecostal Communism. The first step of progress—the first and lowest round of the ladder—is trade or commerce. This is a most important and necessary step. With trade or exchange between man and man begins the evolution and growth which result in a vast confederation of all nations, having for its object the mutual supply of human wants. It matters not how numerous or how great may be the evils and barbarisms connected with this work of exchange: the slight measure of peace, coöperation and unity that it involves, dimly foreshadows the perfection of Communism.

The division of labor, the increase of wealth, the institution of laws protecting persons and property, the invention and use of machinery, the founding of schools, colleges and churches, the enormous increase of the means and methods for the communication and mingling of all people, the growth of semi-communistic property and enterprises, and a multitude of other phenomena that pertain to modern civilization, may each be regarded as a necessary step in the ladder which mankind is ascending toward the goal of perfect Communism.

Let us look at the matter a little more minutely. Take the business of insurance against fire, for instance. This is preëminently an institution of civilization, requiring a considerable degree of mutual trust. Does it not imply partial Communism? It gives the individual an assurance that in case of his suffering certain losses, a number of his fellow men will step in and make them good. Perfect Communism certainly does all this and much more. It not only insures against losses by fire, but it insures against poverty, and holds out to each of its members the assurance of enjoying all the blessings and comforts that human sympathy can give in every case of misfortune or suffering to which human beings are subject. In short, perfect Communism means perfect insurance. Therefore, we claim that the civilized, semi-communistic institution of fire-insurance is one of the rounds in the ladder that leads to Communism.

Take our educational institutions for another illustration. They are a step in the ladder that leads to Communism, and we prove it thus: The object of these institutions is the improvement of character. Now it is upon the improvement of character—upon a high degree of civilization—the production of men and women who are entirely trustworthy—that Communism bases all its hopes of success. Pentecostal Communism can only be realized as men attain a high degree of intelligence and improvement. Therefore we say that all educational institutions that accomplish anything in the direction of perfecting human beings are a round in the ladder that leads to Communism.

The same is true of every really civilizing institution. There is but one goal toward which all the wonder-works of civilization are tending, and that is Communism. The question of the practicability of Communism is, therefore, a question of the power of civilization to improve character.

Communism is the focus toward which the truths that have been discovered in the past, and toward which the increasing light of the present and coming ages is converging. The rapturous splendors of prophetic visions and the cool logic of the philosophers are yielding us the light that guides to the same glorious consummation.

Let us not be disturbed by the sounds of clashing armor that come up from the hosts that are marching thither. The most bigoted religionist and the most skeptical evolutionist, when closely questioned, will both, at least in theory, admit that they are bound for the same rendezvous, and perfect harmony is not at present necessary to their progress. Let us wait till we all come under the direct drilling of the great Commander-in-Chief before we allow ourselves to be disappointed at not witnessing the precision and harmony of the grand review.

With the purpose of carrying along the same train of thought by the help of a little versification, I append some lines written under the inspiration of the central thought of these articles:

A SONG OF CIVILIZATION.

Tune, Old Scotch Song.

Where the grand, gloomy forest spread lonely and drear,
Over mountain and valley and plain,
For no end but that Indians might chase the wild deer,
A great land seemed created in vain.
As o'er the first night
Broke heaven's first light,
Driving chaos and darkness away,
So is savagery driven in fast-fading flight
Before civilization's bright ray.

Hark! the woodland resounds with the crash of the oak
'Neath the strokes of the bold pioneers,
And from thousands of hearth-stones the up-curling smoke
Tells of homes that their industry rears.
The apple-blooms gay,
The sweet-scented hay,
And the rich golden harvests appear,
And a great teeming nation with joy hails the day
Of thanksgiving that crowns the glad year.

See, like gems, in their splendor of spires and of domes,
Where the continent's kiss'd by the sea,
Rise the maritime cities, the opulent homes,
Of a commerce wide-spreading and free.
The wave-plowing keels,
The cars' roaring wheels,
Rushing onward obey her commands,
And the storm-king who speaks in the deep thunder-peals
Does her errands 'neath seas to all lands.

Yet must civilization win one triumph more
Ere her glorious mission shall cease,—
She must teach all her children their treasures to pour
At the feet of the great Prince of Peace.
Death, sorrow and pain
No longer shall reign,
And the children of Zion shall raise
From a continent's breadth, like the roar of the main,
Joyful anthems of unceasing praise.

H. J. S.

FOURIERANA.

Selections from the Harbinger, Phalanx and other Publications of the Fourier Epoch.

XV.

In the present state of the Associative enterprise, great devotion, zeal, courage, perseverance and wisdom, are requisite in those who would engage in the practical movement. The members, consequently, have been called upon for many sacrifices; their faith, patience and hope have undergone a stringent test; the rough wind of adversity has winnowed them so thoroughly as to brush away the lighter and more inconstant spirits; and every man has been made to feel that he has put his hand to a work which demands all the strengh of soul that can be summoned to his aid. It seems to be the order of providence that the greatest enterprises should commence with the smallest means, as the King of the moral world was born in the stable of a Jewish village.

All the tendencies of Association are to quicken the faculties, to elevate and refine the character, to inspire a sense of honor and responsibility, to deepen the sentiment of truth and justice, to cultivate the purest and most friendly feelings in social intercourse, in short, to develop the higher and nobler capacities of human nature to a degree of perfection unknown in the civilized order. Nothing is more remarkable in its practical operation than the moral and intellectual improvement exhibited by those who are brought under its influence from previous unfavorable circumstances.

In a well organized Association industry would be furnished with such means and facilities as could not fail to render it attractive; its products would be gained in abundance with comparative ease; the same economy would furnish a style of living more varied, more wholesome, more natural, and far more satisfactory, than is presented by the tables of civilization; there would be opportunity and leisure for reading, study, amusement, social intercourse, such as is not enjoyed by any large mass of people in Christendom, to say nothing of those out of it; and then, life would be surrounded with a perpetual charm, and they who are now doomed to bow the back and bend the knee, to work as they are bidden and to starve if they refuse, to be the drudges and serfs of a commercial feudalism, to tend the swine for the lords of civilization with no chance for the parings of pork, as Carlyle elegantly expresses it, would find a Home, beautiful, attractive in itself, adapted to all the aspirations of their nature, and inspiring a feeling of attachment and love which no baronial castle, no stately ancestral forests, no pictured halls could call forth.

Still with all the sacrifices, which must be endured in the actual condition of the movement, it cannot be denied, that there is now a great charm in the life of Association, which leads those who might command the most favorable positions, as the world goes, in civilization, to shrink from them with a feeling of indescribable aversion. We can testify that with us, our members go away with reluctance and return with gladness. They are homesick when they leave us for a short time; and always return with fresh interest to the cause which is so near their hearts. They feel that there is a freedom from arbitrary rule, a pervading friendliness and hilarity, a truthfulness of expression and of intercourse, and a consciousness of devotion to a noble purpose, which they do not find elsewhere; and accordingly, they give their cordial preference to the life of a pioneer in Association, rather than to the most tempting opportunity which the civilized order can present.

—*George Ripley.*

THE SCOTCH COMMUNITY AT ORBISTON.

I.

The various Communities founded in the United States on the principles of Robert Owen, such as Yellow Springs and Blue Spring, Coxsackie, Forestville, Franklin, Kendal and Haverstraw, and the several Communities at and around New Harmony, have been so fully described in Mr. Noyes's "American Socialisms" and otherwise, that most people are supposed to be familiar with the main facts in their history; but a few Communities have been established in Europe on a similar basis, with which Americans are not so well acquainted. Mr. Dombavand made mention of one in our 24th number—that at Tytherly, Hampshire County, England. There was another which flourished for a time at Orbiston, Scotland, and how many more experiments of a like character there may have been we are unable to say. We should be pleased to receive a fuller sketch of the Tytherly experiment from some one having a personal knowledge of it. The Orbiston Community was not carried on under Mr. Owen's superintendence, nor was he in any way directly responsible for its establishment or management. But this may be said of all the Owenite Communities of the United States excepting those of New Harmony. It is nevertheless proper to speak of them as Owenite Communities, since their founders and promoters acknowledged themselves disciples of the great English Socialist. So with Orbiston. According to Mr. Owen's biographer, William Lucas Sargant (to whom we are indebted for the materials of this sketch), although a difference of opinion had arisen between Mr. Owen and his friends who had resolved to found a Communistic Society in Scotland, still it was begun and carried on by Owen's disciples in a mode generally accordant with his principles, though with some variations in practice. We quote from Sargant:

"This Scotch Society was established about the time Owen first went to the United States; and the account on which I principally rely was printed in 1825. The *Orbiston Company* was so called from being established on the Orbiston estate, of which it had purchased 291 statute acres: all excellent arable land, on a dry and healthy site. It was nine miles from Glasgow, thirty-five from Edinburgh, and not far from Holytown. It was placed on the Clyde about two miles from Hamilton, and delightfully bounded on one side by the Calder, which river separated it from the lands of Motherwell, where a larger experiment was intended. It was proposed to accommodate two hundred families.

"The scheme was in the hands of a company of capitalists, who subscribed the funds in 200 shares of 250*l.* each: making a sum of 50,000*l.*, the greater part of the shares being actually taken up. These gentlemen did not propose to sit down on the land themselves, and sacrifice the superfluities to which they had been accustomed, for the satisfaction of daily toil and rough companionship. But they were willing to risk a considerable sum of money, in order to give a chance of plenty and happiness to those who hitherto had suffered destitution and anxiey. They proposed to put the place into a habitable state, and furnish it with all the appli-

ances required; and then to let it for a certain percentage on the outlay, to a company of tenants, composed of persons disposed to labor and live on the coöperative principle. The interest to be paid was moderate; being only three and a half per cent. for the first two years, and five per cent. afterwards: the law expenses being defrayed by the capitalists.

"The Community was to be neither purely agricultural, nor purely manufacturing, but a mixture of both. The capitalists undertook to build manufactories and workshops: and a fall in the river of eight feet gave an excellent water-power. The members were to live, not in separate houses, but in portions of a huge building, an eighth of a mile in length. This was to be placed more than a quarter of a mile from the Calder, and fifty yards above the level of the stream; with a slope towards the river, and a view at once extensive and beautiful. The private rooms were all to be of one size, sixteen feet by twelve; giving, after deducting what was taken up by bed and closet, twelve feet by eleven and a half of unoccupied space. The eating room, fifty feet by forty, and nineteen feet high, was to be divided by partitions into boxes, each to hold eight persons. Besides these, there were to be lecture-room, ball-room, drawing-room, and library

"It would be tedious to give a full description of the detailed arrangements. But the principle adopted is worth notice. It was originally proposed that the members of the Community should buy the land, erect the buildings, and purchase the tools and machinery; and that the capital raised by benevolent persons should be lent to the members to enable them to do this. But it was afterward resolved, as I have mentioned, to make all the purchases directly with the funds of the capitalists, and then to let the land and plant to the working Community, or company of tenants. Two reasons were assigned for this plan: that it would be both more simple and more secure than the other. As to the latter, we see at once that the capitalists were in the situation of a landlord; and we should be much surprised if a country gentleman were to buy an estate for a farmer, and stipulate to receive interest on the purchase money, instead of buying the estate for himself and letting it on rent for a term of years. It is true that the capital was in this instance advanced for philanthropic purposes, and not for the sake of an income: but it was contended with justice, that though this particular affair might be begun and carried out at the expense of people who cared little about the money they had advanced, the system of Communism could never become general unless it could be made to pay those who found the money for it. If it could be understood on 'Change, that funds laid out in constructing Communistic villages, would pay six per cent. with good security, the system would spread rapidly: whereas, if the income were only two per cent., or if the principle were insecure, nothing considerable would ever be done.

"This arrangement of the two bodies, of capitalists and of tenants, was the work of Abram Combe. Another of his regulations caused much discussion among the friends of Coöperation. He contended that however great would be the gain of combination in working and living, a Community could not be successful, without each member felt the spur of individual advantage; and, therefore, he insisted that every one's maintenance should be in proportion to the work he accomplished. This, it is true, was giving up the principle of Communism: and though I entirely agree with Mr. Combe, I cannot wonder that the advocates of that principle should be dissatisfied. The notion that a man's maintenance should depend on his labor, and be in proportion to it, was loudly denounced as inconsistent with the Communistic principle; and as being 'the very germ of the competitive system; of that system, which has ever hitherto produced, and will ever while it lasts continue to produce, such division of interests, such dissensions, animosities, insatiable desires, and consequent miseries.'

"Combe, in reply to these and similiar invectives, published his reasons in the *Orbiston Register:* and they are worthy of serious attention, as showing the grounds on which a practical and thoughtful man found it necessary to disregard the notions of his best friends. He says that before he had any *experience* of the subject, his views of 'equal distribution' were the same with those advocated by the *Coöperative Magazine* and by William Thompson of Cork: but that an experiment of associating a dozen or a score of families, a few years before, had altered his convictions. The persons associated in this instance were professed converts to the doctrine of equal distribution; and their conduct furnished an irresistible proof of the impossibility of putting the doctrine in practice. When it came to the test of every-day life, it was found that the associates did not really approve of distribuiting to all alike. Combe was grieved to find that this was the case; for the theory had delighted him. However, the conviction was forced upon him, and when he could no longer resist it, he comforted himself with the reflection, that the other advantages of Coöperation were independent of this. He made no pretensions to dictate to the Orbiston people on the subject, he only desired that no compulsion whatever should be used, but that all should judge for themselves. * * *

"The account of the Orbiston Community would be incomplete, without some notice of the man who was its most active manager. Abram Combe, a brother of George Combe, the phrenologist, was born in Edinburgh in 1785. Up to the year 1820, when he was thirty-five years old, he continued to be a keen, honest man of business, fond of amusement, possessing a hearty relish for enjoyment both of town and country life, and capable of making himself highly agreeable to his friends. In October, 1820, a visit to New Lanark caused an entire change in his character and pursuits. He heard Owen explain his views as to the formation of character, the defective institutions of society, and the advantages of Coöperation; he witnessed the effects of the New Lanark schools; he was deeply impressed with what he saw and heard; and contrasting the misery of the world around him with the peace and happiness of the projected new world, he became an eager disciple of Owen.

"His ardent character underwent a change so great, that his friends called it a conversion. From being censorious and satirical, he became forbearing and forgiving: having learned to regard men as creatures of circumstances, and if debased and guilty, only the more worthy of compassion. He had been selfish and much addicted to the pursuit of gain: he was now sympathetic, and rather careless about his own interests. Many of his relatives, who had avoided all intercourse with him, on account of satirical temper, now found him kind and affectionate. Instead of writing epigrams, satires, and lampoons, he applied his powers to the promotion of 'universal benevolence and justice.' He gave up attendance at the theater, being now disgusted at the 'low motives and false maxims which abound in plays:' and he gave up the use of animal food and fermented liquors. In short, his strong and ardent character had found the means of development denied it by the narrow training of his early years and by the ignoble pursuits of his manhood.

"This was the man who had devised the form of the society at Orbiston; and who in conjunction with Mr. Hamilton of Dalzell, whom I have mentioned in a former chapter, devoted himself to carrying out the project. The zeal of both these gentlemen, was said to be almost romantic. They were praised for having acted in the spirit of invaders, who burned their ships to make retreat impossible: for having at once erected substantial buildings incapable of reconversion into money, instead of having in a cowardly temper rented lands and temporary habitations. There were, of course, cooler and more censorious persons, who qualified their proceedings as hasty, and their zeal as rashness; and who thought that the funds expended on buildings, would have been better laid out in the production of the first necessaries of life."

(To be Continued).

"HOW TO BRING PROSPERITY."

Under this heading, Geo. D. Henck of Philadelphia, presents his plan in a communication to the *National Socialist.* Our Government might do worse than to encourage Coöperative Colonization in the way he suggests in the following paragraphs:

For the purpose of improving the condition of the people who go to settle the frontier lands, the Government should encourage the founding of regularly organized Coöperative Associations for farming and manufacturing purposes. And give to every Association of families containing twenty-five persons over the age of twenty-one years, 640 acres of land and ten thousand dollars in legal-tender notes, to be loaned to each Association on bond and mortgage, signed by the officers of the Association, the money to be paid as the improvements are made and the machinery put into the buildings. Also to provide farming implements, animals, and what is absolutly needed for successfully carrying on their business.

Each Association to have the privilege of erecting dwellings, or, if they prefer unitary homes, which is a more economical and better mode of living, having one kitchen and one dining-room. Then five cooks could do the cooking and baking easier and better than twenty-five could in twenty-five kitchens, with twenty-five fires. This would leave twenty persons to assist in some other useful occupation. The saving of labor could be effected in the laundry, because steam-power could be used.

Associative labor is always most economical and productive.

Four such Associations could have their buildings, schools and libraries near each other so as to accommodate the four equally.

This mode of settling a new country would be of an immense advantage to the settlers, and an incalculable benefit to the whole nation. As the people became more refined, intelligent, and cultured, they would make their surroundings more attractive and elegant, and they could dispense with many of the privileged classes, army officers, etc., that are needed in large cities, where wealth subjects people to poverty and crime, because labor is not respected.

Thus the evils of large cities would be avoided, and the disadvantages of a frontier life of isolation, in which people degenerate to rudeness and vulgarity, discord and inharmony and crime.

A NEW IDEA IN BUILDING.

From the New York Sun.

Six dollars a month is the rent paid for three rooms in the model tenement houses built by the munificent bequest of George Peabody in London, and $10 is about the average rate demanded for similar quarters in clean and respectable localities in the up-town wards of this city and Brooklyn. These are thought to be bottom figures, below which the landlord cannot go and realize even five per cent. upon his investment. And, moreover, these prices hold out no hope to the tenant, however promptly and however long he may pay his rent, of ever owning his own domicile. He is to be forever at the beck and bidding of a landlord. Now, if any one should devise a plan by which four equally good rooms in a separate dwelling and an equally clean and respectable locality could be given to the workingman for $6 a month, and he be enabled, in addition, and simply by making these monthly payments, to pay for and acquire at the end of ten years a free and clear fee-simple title to this property, he would accomplish, it seems to us, something that to the workingman, and indeed to all persons in moderate circumstances—for the same principle would apply to more expensive dwellings—would be of very great, in fact of almost incalculable advantage. This thing has been done within sight of New York—in New Jersey.

About four years ago a number of capitalists, not real estate speculators, but bankers and retired men of business, who were satisfied with seven per cent. upon their money, devised such a plan, and determined to test it in actual experiment. They made up a pool of $300,000, and put it into the hands of one of their number, who was to have personal control of the operations. This gentleman knew no more about building than he knew about the planet Jupiter, but he was of keen business sagacity, and selecting subordinates of trained mechanical skill, he went about the work as he would have gone about the manufacture of boots and shoes, cotton goods, or any other staple, paying only small profits, and requiring careful and economical management for its successful production. He bought a tract of land, laid out and opened streets, built a railway station, investigated the value of building material, and studied over the best plans for the class of houses ordinarily wanted by people who live in hired dwellings. This occupied about a year, and then he was ready to begin building operations.

His lots by this time had cost him about $350 each, and the problem was how to build on these lots a house of four rooms, costing usually say $800, and one of six rooms, costing usually $1,500, and one of ten rooms, costing usually $2,500 (and thus on and upward), and sell the same respectively, on monthly payments of say $6, $12, and $20, and secure to the buyer a fee-simple title to the house, at the expiration of ten years, free from all incumbrance.

A very little calculation will show that $6 paid monthly will not pay for a house costing $800, together with the insurance, ordinary taxes, and interest on the capital invested, in ten years, or in scarcely any other number of years. Therefore, the real problem was how to reduce the cost of construction.

In ordinary cases an owner, intending to build, submits his plans to a builder, who contracts to do all the work, supply all the material, and deliver the house, fully completed, at a specified time, and for a specified sum of money. This builder may be in poor credit, and therefore have to pay two prices for his material, or he may be a slack man, who fails to get more than half a day's work where he ought to get a whole day, or he may want a profit large enough to retire on at the end of a year. Whatever the reason, the house usually costs the owner from fifty to seventy per cent. more than it would have cost, if, being a practical man and acquainted with building, he had looked after his own work, and bought his own material of first hands and for cash. This, evidently, was not the way to solve the problem; and therefore the ex-banker adopted another system.

He first applied to his operations the principle of a division of labor. He employed one set of men to dig cellars, another to lay foundations, another to do mason work, another to set up frames, and another to do general carpentry, and he paid them not by the day, but by the mass, so much for the whole work performed. And secondly, he bought all the material used of first hands, and for ready money. By doing this he accomplished an important saving. For instance, timber worth in this market $18 per thousand, he bought in Sullivan county and landed at his station for $11. Siding worth here $25, he brought from Chicago for $16. Flooring worth here $30, he got from Michigan for $20. Roofing slate, which costs here $8 and $9 per square laid, he bought in Vermont, and laid himself, for about half that money; and mantels costing here $25 and $35, he produced for $15 and $18 by buying the marble at the quarry and employing a gang of marble workers on his own ground.

In short, he solved the problem. And the result has been well nigh marvelous. During the past three years of universal business depression, when real estate, particularly, has been as dead as Julius Cæsar, he has erected and sold nearly two hundred houses, and built up, with no local industry to give it impetus or support, a thriving town,

which has already a dozen shops and stores, a handsome church, a couple of newspapers, a public library and reading room, a well-conducted school, which is attended by one hundred and seventy scholars, and a total of fully a thousand orderly and well-to-do inhabitants, who do not support a single rum-shop. And all this has been done without any of the usual writing up or real estate clap-trap, or even the expenditure of a single dollar for legitmate advertising. And the success of this enterprise demonstrates several things worthy of general consideration:

I. That a hundred persons will buy a house on a system of monthly payments which are not in excess of a fair rental, where only one person would do so on the customary terms of one-third or one-half paid down, in cash, at the time of purchase.

II. That the same skill and business capacity applied to the building of houses which are applied to other branches of production, will produce them for a price far below the usual cost of construction.

III. That this skill and sagacity being applied, houses can be sold for monthly payments which do not exceed a fair rental, and which will pay for the domicile in ten years, and still allow the capitalist seven per cent. upon his investment. And

IV. That any man, of whatever means, who can pay a monthly rent, might in ten years own his own house if capitalists would put their money into this kind of investment.

With so much capital lying to-day idle in the city of New York, would it not be well if some of it were given employment in this direction? A sum of money less than that invested in Aspinwall's home on the Hudson would build 500 moderately sized houses, and on this plan give comfortable homes of their own to 500 families, who are now living in hived-up hired apartments, and with no hope of anything better in the future.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 1878.

We know not how generally the following sentiment, taken from the *Voice of Labor*, of St. Louis, would be indorsed by the Socialistic Labor Party, but it ought to receive their unanimous approval: "Socialism has never advocated brute force; on the contrary, has strained every effort to prevent it. Those having a true knowledge of the Socialistic problem know too well the danger and uselessness of mob violence, to encourage it for a moment. Socialism aims to bring about a true civilization by a thorough, open and manly agitation, appealing to the higher instead of the lower qualities of the mind."

The *National Citizen and Ballot-Box* is the name of a paper just started in the neighboring city of Syracuse. "Its especial object will be to secure national protection to women citizens in the exercise of their rights to vote; but it will also touch upon the woman question in all its various aspects; it purposes a general criticism of men and things. Neither fear nor favor will hinder its presentation of truth and the calling of attention to unjust customs and laws; it will oppose class legislation of whatever form." Editor and Publisher, Matilda Joslyn Gage; Corresponding editors, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. With such conductors the new journal is sure to be lively and vigorous. We hope it will succeed.

MUTUAL CRITICISM AMONG THE LITTERATEURS.

Richard Grant White begins his article on "Americanisms" in the July *Atlantic* with the following:

"Already I begin to see that *The Atlantic* is a kind of Oneida Community in the republic of letters. At least it is so in the use of mutual criticism as a mode of discipline for its contributors. If one of us makes a slip, or is supposed by another to have made one—which comes to much the same thing—he is pretty sure to hear of it next month in the Club, where he finds himself subjected to a form of castigation which is in use not only under the government of Father Noyes but in the estimable Society of Friends. I remember having seen in my boyhood one of my companions, whose family belonged to that social order, dealt with in this way. He had been guilty of some outrageous piece of mischief, and the maternal magistrate arraigned him in this fashion: 'Now, Robert, thee has been a very bad boy; thee ought to be'— I winced for my playmate; for I expected the conclusion common under such circumstances among the world's people. But no; the threatened punishment was of another kind. The judgment pronounced was, 'Thee ought to be *talked to.*' I discovered afterwards that this was a common mode of correction among the Quakers; a kind of family pillory, in which a culprit was set up to have his ears bored with sharp sayings, and to be pelted with dead mysteries and moralities, and rotten proverbs. Perhaps it was a figurative memorial of the persecutions to which the sect had been subjected in its early days, both in the Old England and in the New. I am not quite sure that it was not a more dreadful punishment than the veritable whipping-post. Certainly it was more effectual, if we may judge by the sober and discreet carriage of the people who put it in practice. However this may be, it is manifest that some of my collaborators think that I too ought to be talked to. I am quite willing to submit myself to this chastening: first, because I believe that the discipline is good; and next, because I have the right, which the poor Quaker boy did not have, of talking back. Of this, however, I shall not avail myself, unless it seems to me that I can do so for the benefit of my readers."

Mr. White brings to view in this paragraph, in spite of his ridicule, at least three points which should commend to favor the system of Mutual Criticism: 1, that it is practiced in the Society of Friends as well as in the Oneida Community; 2, that it is an "effectual" means of discipline; 3, that it is "good." We can indorse these and assure him that it is just the thing needed in "the republic of letters;" and we suggest that the conductors of *The Atlantic* start a symposium of Mutual Criticism in its columns, and invite their contributors to express briefly their criticisms of one another's faults or excellences, beginning with Mr. White, as he expresses a willingness to "submit" to the "discipline." We can warrant that it would prove more interesting than "The Contributors' Club" or the "Symposiums" of other magazines.

THE NEW RELIGION.

Editor American Socialist:—If I were at all inclined to believe in Spiritualism, many incidents have occurred during my life calculated to have induced me to accept its doctrines. One incident occurred in April as a sample of many such.

I was pondering over the idea of religion when the thought entered me of the possibility of a new religion, and the next day or so the American Socialist came to hand, and therein I read "A New Religion," heading some matter, and found it to be Cavour's prediction of a new religion. I read and found his idea corresponding to my own, only that he set forth more fully in words the ideas that were floating in his mind.

I have long looked upon religion as progressive, just as morals and science are. But I do not remember riveting my attention on the subject as on the above occasion. I really feel the necessity for a new development; not for newness' sake, but for the satisfaction of my inner consciousness, the existing forms having little or no attraction for me.

Bred in orthodox schools, but finding each phase inadequate to meet my spiritual wants, I at length became enamored of Unitarianism of the Theodore Parker type, and read several of his beautiful sermons and works. But it seems even here I cannot rest. I require something different from anything I have yet met with.

Thus I was led to aspire after a new religion, that should rise Phœnix-like out of the ashes of the old. Neither does religion as I learn it of Communists meet my case. I am therefore anxious to learn what shape this new religion will take, what form it will assume, what new features it will possess.

The Jewish Jehovah has become fossilized in the minds of modern religionists. Only a mind tainted with barbaric ideas regards him as alive and commanding his people to make war on neighboring nations, and that, too, in order to destroy them utterly, and then possess themselves of the land and spoils of their supposed enemies.

No! Jehovah has been superseded by the universal Father of Jesus; who through Jesus is said to have wrought many mighty works. But an advanced section of mankind have come to regard the latter as too mythological for their acceptance. In these days God works by evolution, not creation; by natural law, not supernaturally.

To fewer still God has become the unknowable, the inscrutable, indefinable spirit, force or power inherent in all things.

He or it requires no worship except obedience to known physical or moral law.

Man is the highest known intelligence; to worship him is to worship our equal. That does not meet the present want; to whom, to what shall we go?

The Bible is no longer an especially inspired book, it is placed on the shelf with other books, to be used as other books; containing much chaff, it has to be winnowed in order to get at its corn.

Whence then comes this new religion? How much and what part of the old will remain to help build up the new?

Can celibate Shaker or complex Oneida, spiritual Amana or material Icaria, give the answer that will satisfy the hungry soul? Which of the Babel tongues can perform the mighty task? W. H. C.

Warrington, England, June 11, 1878.

REPLY BY THE EDITOR.

We accept this challenge to outline the New Religion.

1. It will take a lesson from the Positivists and lay its foundations below all possible frosts of skeptical criticism, in unimpeachable facts and demonstrations. In the spirit of true Positivism it will accept only absolute knowledge, and will welcome all genuine science, physical or spiritual, with full assurance that truth is always consistent with itself.

2. It will move on the line which Spiritualism has already partially marked out; that is, it will enter into open communication with the world of spirits, and carry the laws of faithful induction and exploration into all departments of that world.

3. It will go beyond Spiritualism, especially in this: that it will make little account of communications with the miscellaneous dead; but will push discovery toward the central and ruling principalities of the spiritual world. In other words, it will form a junction with the Primitive Church of Christianity now existing in that world, and will stand under the instructions and in partnership with the power of that Church.

4. It will recognize historical Christianity and the Bible in a special way, as follows:

Paul was manifestly the principal exponent of Christ. His writings are the core of the New Testament. They antedate the four gospels and all the other documents of that book. And fortunately their authenticity, as a whole, is conceded on all hands to be above suspicion. This, then, is a solid historical foundation of the Christian gospel. Indeed, Paul's writings contain all the essential facts of Christ's life and death, and might properly be called the *fifth* gospel; or rather, considering their unquestioned authenticity and precedence, they are the *first* gospel and the *only* gospel needed as the foundation of historical Christianity.

5. The New Religion will recognize Paul, not only as the principal ancient exponent of Christianity and author of the first and best gospel in writing, but as Christ's special and permanent apostle to the Gentiles, and therefore the present head of the Gentile Church. In this faith the New Religion separates itself from all that has been called Christianity since Paul's time, and might properly be called Pauline Christianity in distinction from the *Petrine* systems of Popery and all its Protestant descendants.

6. The New Religion, in its junction with the church in the Heavens, will first affiliate itself to Paul, and expects, in restoring this missing link, to recover the spiritual power and wisdom of Paul's original administration.

7. The leading *doctrines* of the New Religion will be that Salvation from Sin and Victory over Death are offered to us in this world, and that these blessings are to come by Communism, first with Christ and the Heavens, and then with one another.

8. The *measures* of the New Religion will be an eclectic combination of the methods of modern Revivalists and Spiritualists with those of the Primitive Church under Paul; supplemented and vivified by present directions from the Heavens.

In this outline we give Paul a new and very conspicuous position; but it must not be imagined that we intend any disrespect to Peter and the other Apostles, or to the Evangelists and the Bible generally. We do not at present undertake to speak of these. We only say that Paul is manifestly the foremost man of the New Testament and of the Gentile Church. In giving him his true position we announce, not merely a modification of popular Christianity, but a New Religion.

NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

The Boston *Index*, in its pursuit of "liberty and light," keeps up its discussions upon the subject of Communism. In its last issue occurs the following scintillation:

COMMUNISM.

"Every Communist, whatever other views he holds, must believe in a Community of property, more or less modified. But nature is never one-sided, and in practice, Community of property, pure and simple, is impossible. What a man personally uses he must own; and, in fact, a man cannot strictly be said to own anything but what he uses. The amount that a man may use varies very much with the man, some using and needing much more than others.

"The Familistère founded by Godin at Guise was built and owned by one man, who is capitalist and manager of the whole concern.

"The Oneida Community holds its property in common, but that practically amounts to the man or men who manage and direct the affairs owning the property as fully as M. Godin owns his.

"So with the Shaker Communities, the property is practically owned by the ruling authorities or leaders, the individuals having only what they use, and little or no more control over the remainder than if it were were owned by a benevolent and beneficent capitalist."

Thus F. S. C. with a stroke of his pen decides that "in practice Community of property, pure and simple, is impossible;" and then affirms that at Guise, at Oneida and at the Shaker Communities there is really no Communism—practically, he tells us, everything is owned and managed in these societies by one man or a few men. This may be all true of the Familistère at Guise, which makes no pretensions to Communism, though the accounts published in our last two numbers prove that its members enjoy some of the advantages of

communal society; but the facts will scarcely justify the conclusion that what is true of M. Godin's establishment is also true of all the Societies claiming to have a basis of common property. F. S. C. says:

"The Oneida Community holds its property in common, but that practically amounts to the man or men who manage and direct the affairs owning the property as fully as M. Godin owns his."

Let us examine this statement a little. M. Godin's ownership is so complete that he could at his pleasure turn out of his establishment every worker, sell the property, put the proceeds into his pocket, or otherwise invest them as he might choose. He has paid his workmen their wages as any other manufacturer is supposed to do, and therefore is, in an important sense, under no obligation to them. At Oneida the property accumulated represents the contributions to the common fund in money and labor which have been made by all the members during thirty years, and is held "*jointly*," and "*not severally*," by persons selected to act as virtual trustees of the common property. No one of these persons in whose names rest the title-deeds can individually maintain his right to any greater part of the accumulated property than the humblest member. On the withdrawal of members the Community has refunded whatever property the seceders brought into the Society; but there is no obligation to do even this, and no provision any more favorable to one than to another in this respect.

Nor do these title-holders specially manage the property. They are of course men of prudence and wisdom, otherwise they would not have been selected to fill so important a position. But the superintendents of the leading businesses are often changed, and it not infrequently happens that not one of the title-holders has charge of an important department of business. Then the Community has a general Business Board, before which any member can bring any subject for discussion and action; and, in addition, every member is made free every evening to bring any business of general interest before the whole Community. Moreover, so far as sex and labor permit, the members fare alike in the matter of clothing; all share alike at a common table; all have acccess to a common library; all have equally good care in sickness; all have the same free access to Turkish baths and other means of cleanliness and health; all are free to participate in all the amusements and recreations of the Community, etc., etc. And yet F. S. C., who never visited the Community, and of course can have little or no "practical" knowledge of it, tells the readers of the *Index* that "practically" there is no real Communism in it. *Credat Judæus!*

How about the Shaker Communities? F. S. C. says:

"The property is practically owned by the ruling authorities or leaders, the individuals having only what they use, and little or no more control over the remainder than if it were owned by a benevolent capitalist."

Let us examine this statement also. In the first place, the property is held and managed for certain specific purposes, by Trustees, who are subject to removal if they violate their trust. Moreover, they are prohibited by the Covenant to which they have sworn conformity from using any of the common property except for the benefit of the Society, or in accordance with its established regulations. In the second place, there is this guaranty in the Shaker Covenant:

"The property shall be held, possessed and enjoyed by the Church, in their united capacity, as a sacred and covenant right: that is to say, all and every member thereof, while standing in Gospel union and maintaining the principles of this Covenant, *shall enjoy equal rights, benefits and privileges in the use of all things pertaining to the Church, according to their several needs and circumstances; and no difference shall be made on account of what any one has contributed and devoted, or may hereafter contribute and devote to the support and benefit of the institution.*"

If that does not mean "Community of property, pure and simple," we cannot understand the meaning of the plainest words. Then a rule of the Order reads:

"No one who is able to labor can be permitted to live idly upon the labors of others. All, including ministers, elders and deacons, are required to be employed in some manual occupation, according to their several abilities, when not engaged in other necessary duties."

Thus, equality of labor, and equality of "rights, benefits and privileges in the use of all things," are established by rule in the Shaker Communities. But F. S. C. might say, "That is all theory; practically the rulers manage everything according to their own pleasure." We answer: "Give us the proof. The fact that it is found necessary in such Societies to have leaders and managers is no evidence that they work for selfish ends." But all this is not saying that the Shaker system may not be faulty in giving too little scope to the individual members of the Shaker Communities.

We are confident that a rigid inspection of their practical life life would show that "Community of property, pure and simple," and not individual selfishness, substantially prevails at Economy, Amana and other Communistic Societies; that, however imperfect they may be and however much they may have fallen short of their ideals in practical life, none of them prove the correctness of F. S. C.'s position, that "Community of property, pure and simple, is impossible."

THE SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

The following circular was issued on the 14th inst. by the National Executive Committee of the Socialistic Labor Party:

To all Sections and Members of the Socialistic Labor Party:

The National Executive Committee has been informed that a few of our party members have associated themselves into military organizations in several localities, instigated thereto chiefly by a mistaken apprehension that such a course is necessary to the protection of their rights as Socialists. The party authorities would not deem it any part of their duty to interfere with such action were it not attempted by these military organizations to secure recognition at the hands of the Socialistic Labor Party, and that it is possible in some instances such organizations may have had the countenance or encouragement of the local sections. Inasmuch as no warrant for such organizations can be found in the platform or constitution of the party, the proceedings of either of the party congresses, or in the acts of the Executive Committee or the Board of Supervision, the said organizations are regarded by the Executive Committee as occupying a position of hostility to the principles and policy of the Socialistic Labor Party, whether so intended or not. We therefore request all party members to withdraw from said military connections, and particularly urge all sections to avoid any official connection with such bodies, and to require that no arms be carried in their processions. If parties thus armed insist upon joining our processions against the wishes of the sections, such sections are advised to compel compliance with their orders.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
PHILIP VAN PATTEN, Corresponding Secretary.

This ought to be a sufficient reply to the studiously magnified rumors and reports as to the violently revolutionary designs of the Socialistic Labor Party in this country. It is a Party of Peace; seeking a peaceful revolution. It has the same right to organize, to grow, to hold meetings, to discuss all public questions, to gain adherents, as any other party, political or religious. It is not likely to become a party of violence unless attempts are made to suppress and oppose it by violence. And those who attempt this kind of opposition should remember that in all ages "persecution has been the seed of the Church." The questions which have called the Socialistic Labor Party into existence, and which it seeks to have discussed and solved, are vital questions. They are strong, overshadowing questions, of infinite importance. That all the adherents of the Socialistic Labor Party discuss these questions in the best way, or free from intemperate language and bitterness, need not, and cannot be assumed. It has its fanatics and fools as well as other parties, and as new and radical popular movements are likely to have. Its proportion of these is not unusual. In this respect it would probably compare favorably with the old Anti-Slavery Party. To belong to the latter was once a reproach and a signal for ostracism; but it afterward conquered the nation and destroyed slavery. But the Socialistic Labor Party has its calm thinkers and its temperate writers and talkers, who cannot be snuffed out by the sneers of big newspapers, nor crushed into silence by the misrepresentations of the servants and profiters of the present social disorder. They know that the questions they discuss, the evils they would rectify, have engaged the attention of the most earnest thinkers, living or dead. They know that the pure heart of John Ruskin, the lofty, sham-hating mind of Carlyle, have brooded over them. They know that if peace and good-will are to have place in the future of the world, if beauty and harmony are to light the faces of coming generations, these questions must be discussed, these evils rectified; and no claims of present selfish usage or institutions, however intrenched in immemorial laws or toleration, must stand in the way of the freest discussion and investigation, the most thorough and far-reaching rectification.

A leading newspaper which has been conspicuous in stirring up the late "Communistic scare," by giving prominence to the rumors of the arming and drilling of Communists, now goes back on exaggerations, and tries to treat the Socialistic movement as a "bugbear." Its reporters have investigated the Socialistic Labor Sections of New York and Brooklyn. They found no arming or drilling. They claim to have found only about 1,300 paying members. And of the estimated 100,000 Communists in the two cities they seem to have discovered only a fraction, the greater part being Germans and other foreigners, whose speakers and leaders are designated as impracticable theorists and violent and rambling talkers. Of the two views—the one which would exaggerate and invest with danger; the other which would belittle and cover with opprobrium—both are equally incorrect. I have recently talked with an American connected with the party in these two cities, an organizing mind among them, a man of peace and devoted to peaceful measures, who represents the movement to be one of great interest and worthy of great respect, and as far different from the "bugbear" view of it. In the sections which he knows, and in those which he has helped to organize, the idea of force, or a communism of force, is entirely discarded. There is temperate discussion, there is intelligent, vigorous thought, there is the cultivation of peace and fraternity, there are the desire and purpose to win their ends by peaceful means. There is recognition of Christ, not in his divinity, or in any theological sense, but in his humanity, as the Great Workingman and example for workingmen. This gentleman said that in a meeting he had just attended of a German-speaking section, it was most interesting to see how the minds of these common workingmen, many of them physicists in theory, were groping and hungry for simple truth and for natural relations in society; how they responded to everything that would promote fellowship and harmony. It is not wise to despise men of this description. It is such people—the great under class, the poor, and the patient workers—that are coming up for recognition the world over. They are moving everywhere—in America, in England, in Germany, in Russia. God help the "powers that be" in the nations to deal wisely with them! The afflatus which is arousing and leading them is not a war-afflatus, it has not destruction for its motive. It is calling all earth's children up into manhood and to the recovery of the rights and privileges of manhood. To regard the Socialistic movement among the masses as generically destructive is the fatalest of errors. Give the Socialists of Europe to-day the control of the nations, and they would disband the armies, remand the soldiers to productive work, and begin a reign of peace from the Ural Mountains to the Bay of Biscay, from the North Cape to Gibraltar. Socialism and war are incompatible, irreconcilable. It is only when Socialists have been driven to desperation by the force used to repress them that they have turned on their destroyers with their own weapons. We have heard much of the excesses and destructions of the Paris Commune of '71. But the question has not yet been adequately considered as to how much of those excesses and destructions was due to the despair, desperation and insanity brought about by the merciless and inhuman measures of repression of the Versailles Government. Far different might the result have been had the Communists been met with the tenderness and consideration of the spirit of peace instead of the cannon balls and blood of war. The history of the Commune of Paris has its lesson for the opposers of Communism as well as for Communists. It says to the one, Beware how you fight those who are seeking the recovery of human rights, with the spirit and weapons of war. It says to the other, Beware how you seek those rights in the spirit of war. Both these lessons need to be pondered in this new day of Social uprising, and studied not the least by the "powers that be" in society and government.

THEO. L. PITT.

CEREBRUM ABDOMINALE.

XIV.

Another short story with a point to it:

MR. B.'S STORY.

"My make-up, as all my acquaintances know, is emotional and intuitional, and not intellectual. I was always slow at figures. I remember a little circumstance when I was nine or ten years old. I was studying arithmetic at school, and one day I puzzled over a simple sum till my teacher's patience was quite exhausted. I saw she thought I was very stupid, and I was sensitive enough to feel hurt and mortified. I tugged away at the sum till night, but the school was dismissed before I had found the least clue, and I went home with a dreadful sense of my backwardness, and very much discouraged. I went to bed with my little heart sick and sore. But during my sleep I either dreamed or felt out the solution (I don't know which), for the first thing on waking I *saw* how to do it, and was a happy boy.

"I never seemed to be able to do things as other boys did, and my impediments later in life are too well known. If I ever got ahead in school, or had any success as a public speaker, the credit was due to an impulse or struggle in my heart and not in my head. I once prepared a lecture with Queen Elizabeth for my theme. I had read up thoroughly and arranged my 'briefs' with all due care, but when I came to speak, my heart was like lead within me, my tongue and intellect had lost their prompter, and so the lecture fell dead. Years ago, when it was the custom of the Oneida

Community to celebrate the 20th of February as the anniversary of the birth of Perfectionism, I was selected on one occasion to deliver the usual oration. As in the case I have mentioned, my 'skeleton' was perfect, but when I rose to speak there was something wrong at the pit of my stomach, and my tongue refused to go off. It was too much for me, and I fainted and was taken out of the room.

"But I have not always failed. I became religious at the age of eighteen, and my zeal led me into the ministry by the shortest route I could find. While I was yet but a stripling, I was invited one Sunday to occupy the pulpit of Rev. Mr. K. of Montpelier, Vt. He was a popular preacher, and his congregation was fashionable and critical. I accepted the invitation, and tremblingly trusted to my heart. The result justified my trust. Before me sat the Secretary of State and other notabilities whose presence would naturally daunt me. I took my text and commenced speaking. Very soon I felt my heart burn within me, and I was conscious of being enveloped with something which it seemed to me was like the glory of God. The sensation was unspeakably delightful and entirely new. I had perfect self-possession, and words welled up from my heart, flashed through my mind, and expressed themselves through my voice without any effort. I felt the power of God, and the audience felt it too, or at least they were convinced that I felt it. Tears streamed down many faces, while others were aglow with smiles. My theme was God's love, and my text, 'Keep yourselves in the love of God.' I felt then and have never doubted since that I was in and surrounded by that love. The next morning the Secretary met me, and with a cordial greeting and 'God bless you,' he put a bank-note into my hand."

The point of this story is like that of Mr. I.'s; both show the close connection between the heart and the power of utterance. In the first place, the heart and the voice are very sympathetic. Faint heart, faint voice; strong heart, clear, sonorous voice. Depression of spirit is quickly betrayed by a change in the voice; it need not be sad, it is *husky*, has no edge, no echo. You have to say, What? to the heavy heart over and over again; it don't make you hear. The voice, again, has some reciprocal influence on the heart. We have seen persons in a low state of feeling exalt themselves by a willful exertion of the voice, talking loud, letting themselves out, for instance, in a tirade against their own imbecility.

Elocutionists practice deep breathing, and it is to draw vocal strength from the pit of the stomach as well as from well-filled lungs. We are told that the best remedy for stage fright is to draw a few long breaths. If a performer has time to do this after appearing he is reässured. Does he sound his heart in this way and open its play on his tongue? or does deep breathing help to free the heart from the asphyxia which is apt to seize it in such circumstances?

If power of voice and the self-possession necessary to good speaking come from the heart, how much more the fire and magnetism of true eloquence, "the thoughts that breathe and words that burn."

"Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." It is easy to talk when the heart is full. The full heart must talk; we hear people say, their hearts would burst if they did not speak. On the other hand, too much talking exhausts and impoverishes the heart. How empty the heart feels after a long gossip. The small talkers are often richest in heart, most magnetic and innocently subtle.

We recognize the power of oratory, but words of commonest speech have an innate power. They are contagious, they fertilize where they fall, they carry with them life and death, and it is because they are charged with the fullness of the hearts of those that speak. The opening of the mouth is sometimes the opening of a gate of hell; sometimes it is the opening for an influx of heaven; all this in our every-day intercourse. A person's talk is a good touchstone of his heart. His favorite topic shows what he loves most. "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also," and where your heart is, your mouth, in its natural freedom, will show.

R.

OVER-PRODUCTION.

The great question of restricting the increase of the population is impossible to smother by any legal circumscriptions. The world has arrived at that age when there are few new realms to conquer, and the progress of science is lengthening the term of life perceptibly even year by year. Whether an utter recklessness of increase is to be continued perpetually, with a corresponding perpetual growth of pauperism aud disorder, is a question of serious imminence. Somewhere there must be a pause. The checks of famine, pestilence and war decrease as an intelligent civilization extends. The checks of forbearance and prevention are beginning to take their places. It may be fairly said that in the best informed portions of our social fabric they are already operative. In France the people have found them out, and certainly in considering the comparative prosperity of France this fact cannot be left out. But generally speaking, the very class that recruits pauperism and must, until man is other than he is, continue to recruit it, knows nothing except to breed as unconcernedly as flies or fish; and the result is a vast substratum of utter poverty and abasement and every city a tremendous nursery of crime.

—*Springfield Republican.*

METHODS OF TRANSITION.

The Socialistic Labor Party, as indicated by Mr. Smart, seem to ignore the necessity of immediate, individual reform, and to look only to the future control of the Government for relief.

Suppose, for illustration, there existed a temperance party that ignored the personal practice of its principles, and only educated the people to see the evils of drinking, in the hope that they would one day arise in their legal might to prohibit the manufacture of intoxicating liquors and banish them from the land. Meanwhile, and until a majority of the people were converted and the control of the Government obtained, they might drink as before. What chance would Women's Crusades and other practical reform measures have on such a basis? It is neither consistent nor effective to condemn a wrong and continue its practice. The effect of this policy in Labor Reform is plain. There is a strong and intense feeling of injustice and oppression endured, but the results of efforts are so far off and uncertain that enthusiasm is repressed and the people know not what course to pursue. Action inspires with courage and enthusiasm, while waiting weakens and disheartens. If the present drinking or industrial system is bad we should adopt a better at once. If the drunkard can say "No" to a strong appetite and overcome the temptations and influences that beset him, then we aught to be able to say "No" to the spirit of speculation that surrounds us. It may be said that experiments in coöperation have been unsatisfactory. If we think total abstinence too radical, and "touch not, taste not, handle not" too strict a rule, and only aim to regulate or modify drinking habits and customs, then the way will be uncertain and the result unsatisfactory. So in Coöperation, until societies coöperate with each other it is only modified competition, and the results will be unsatisfactory. The societies "stand exactly as competing individuals now do," and "they will not be exempt from the disasters to which all enterprises are subject under the present economic laws."

A change seems inevitable, and if it does not commence with individual reform and practice as in temperance, then it will probably come through disorganization and a terrible conflict and convulsion. "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" W. V. Hardy.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Hamilton, N. Y., June 10, 1878.

Editors American Socialist:—I was much interested in reading in the Socialist the article of G. C., "A Good Work and a Good Worker." It brought fresh to my recollection the time when Mr. McDowall first called attention to the condition and low morals of the people in the vicinity of the Five Points and othes places in New York City. At that time the Five Points was the most degraded and the most wicked portion of the earth. It was unsafe for people to pass through it in the daytime, and still more unsafe in the night. Mr. McDowall was the first one who had the courage to visit the place with any good intent. This he did, going into the most loathesome dens of vice and depravity, urging their inmates to live better lives. He found assistants in a few Christian women and a very few Christian men of the City.

I also remember the first issue of his paper, called *McDowall's Journal.* In it he described not only the state of society at the "Points," but the licentiousness of many other places in New York City, and proved that their supply of females was obtained largely from the country. Also this paper described the methods pursued by the keepers of those dens to decoy unsuspecting females to destruction, calling on all Christian churches and good people to aid him in his work.

But, unexpectedly to him, he met strong opposition to his labors, not only from that class of people who followed the vices he fought against, but more especially from the so-called Christian churches of the day, and their religious journals. These were his bitterest opponents. I well remember the hostility of the *New York Observer*, edited by Sidney E. Morse, and of the *New York Evangelist*, edited by Austin Dickinson. Those papers fought Mr. McDowall as though he were a Romish priest. Their influence at that time was large, and Mr. McDowall felt it keenly; and, added to the difficulties of the work he had undertaken, was more than he could stand. He sank under it, and died a martyr to the cause of Moral Reform.

From the commencement of Mr. McDowall's labors he had associated with him a band of benevolent and Christian women, who aided and encouraged him in his good work; and after his death they took it into their own hands. They published a weekly paper, called *The Advocate of Moral Reform.* They organized a society in the City, called "The Moral Reform Society." The editress of their paper, Miss Sarah Ingram, was equal to the undertaking. For many years these ladies did a large business, for, though persecuted, they were respected. They formed auxiliaries to the parent society all over this and other States, and lived to see the persecution they, as well as Mr. McDowall, had to contend with, die away. An excellent lady of New York City, Mrs. Fenton, was sent into the town where I resided to form societies and make collections. She met with great encouragement and success in all places where she went.

As an observer, I have had my mind's eye on those ladies and their work from its beginning, which must be over forty years; and it is gratifying to look back to the days of John R. McDowall, and watch the various vicissitudes through which his followers have passed up to the present time. Probably there never was exhibited in the city of New York a more interesting event than that described by Mr. Cragin in the Socialist of May 30th; and that this good work may accomplish as much good the next fifty years as it has the last fifty years is my great desire. Carlton Rice.

Gilmore, Mich., June 20, 1878.

Editors American Socialist:—While reading Mr. Chestnut's account of his visit to Esperanza, it occurred to me that a notice of "The Home Community" at this place might interest your readers. The location is about three-fourths of a mile from Lake Michigan, twenty miles from Manistee, and seven from Frankfort Harbor. It is one of the loveliest spots nature has provided, giving views of the lake from several points, also of a small lake near, both of which afford ample supplies of fish. I came here the 1st of May, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the workings of The Home; and from my stand-point of observation I see an earnestness and thoroughness here that I have never met in reformers elsewhere—a harmony between theory and practice I have in vain sought for in those professing to work for better conditions for humanity. The members have had some trying experiences with persons associated with them, which they have no desire to have repeated. In place of the lily-handed Community tramp, they need more men with muscle to wield the ax in clearing the land, and manhood enough to try to live in obedience to the spirit. In place of women who are swayed by every passing influence, they need those who possess nerve to endure the toils and privations of pioneer Communism.

The family has numbered from 14 to 17. The occupations are controlled by the necessities of a school for the children, and the putting in of crops, much of the land for which has been logged and cleared this spring. Rye and wheat promise an abundant yield of the "staff of life," and corn and vegetables promise needful supplies for the coming year. While other sections suffered from the late frost, this was almost free from its effects, and fruit will be abundant.

I have firm faith that this Centennial Tree will live and thrive; that its past struggles have given it deep root, and in the future its branches will be wide-spread, affording shade and shelter to souls and bodies now weary and homeless. Fraternally, S. A. S.

COMMUNISM IN THE CHURCH.

The Congregational Convention in Fall River this week was startled by the Rev. Jesse H. Jones, who introduced Communism and Christ as its leader. He said the people try to serve Mammon rather than God, and so long as ministers defend that, so long will corruption prevail. He spoke against interest. One gentleman said he would like to borrow $25,000 from him. Mr. Jones answered that he would lend it to starving operatives instead of ministers.—*Labor Journal.*

The Pipe-line Company from the oil regions to Baltimore will use a six-inch pipe, which will discharge 6,000 barrels per day. The line will be worked at a pressure of 400 pounds to the inch. The first station will be at Parker City, whence the oil will be forced thirty-five miles. The second pump will force it twenty-six miles further, the third seventy miles, and the fourth will send it to Baltimore, a distance of 102 miles. There will be 1,200 feet of oil ahead of each pump. The cost per barrel will be one cent at each pump. Five cents per barrel will be the full cost from the well to the seaboard. The total cost of the line will be less than two million dollars.—*The National.*

CULTURE AND CHRISTIANITY.

From Scribner's Monthly.

It hardly needs to be said that the tendency of modern culture is away from Christianity. It diverges from it not only in its faith, or lack of faith, but in its spirit and in its effect upon character. With a multitude of minds, more or less intelligent, culture stands in the place of any sort of cult. To these, the perfection of the human being, through the development of its native powers and the harmonization of those powers by discipline and happy use and control, seems a dream quite possible to be realized. Turning their backs to faith, they give one hand to science and the other to art, to be led upward and onward in "the path of progress." They hold meetings; they "preach;" they address the "Infinite Mystery" in "aspiration;" they go through various imitative motions which show that Christian ideas haunt them, while they pretend to ignore every fact out of which those ideas have grown. It is always well when one gets a little muddled over a new system of ideas, and particularly over the talk about it, to take one of them, follow it out, and see where it lands a man.

One large portion of the domain of culture ultimates in art. It is in art that it comes to its flower, and it is in the reactions of art upon the artist, and in the motives engendered and nourished by art, that we learn just what this kind of culture does for a man. A tree is known by its fruits. Much of the talk of culture is very foggy. Many of its assertions and propositions are as hard to disprove as to prove. It is full of glittering generalities; it utters ingenious sophisms; it puts on superior airs; and many a simple-hearted believer who knows that he holds in his faith something that is infinitely fruitful and valuable stands before it with a silent tongue. But when it begins to act, it begins to show the stuff that it is made of. It talks divinely of progress, but when it starts to walk it goes lame.

If we may judge by facts that are painfully patent, there is no occupation in the world that so belittles and degrades men and women as that which is based upon, or which engages, the different fine arts. In literature, in sculpture and picture, in the theater, in music, in every branch of art that enlists the higher and finer powers of men and women, we have the most lamentable evidence that culture has not one purifying, or ennobling quality when unaccompanied by religion. In literature, men and women are broken up into cliques and parties, and the criticism of the time is honeycombed with jealousies and spites. Selfishness dominates here as in other domains of art. It is charged with the spirit of detraction. This is no new state of things. One has but to turn over the pages of the old reviews, or listen to the echoes of Byron's angry protest, to learn that the present time is a legitimate successor of the past, and that brutality of the grossest type may characterize the followers of the sublimest art the world knows. The highest powers, cultivated to their highest point, speaking in the sweetest voice of literary art, save no man from being a sot, a debauchee, an adulterer, a disgusting boaster, a selfish glutton of praise, and a vindictive enemy of all who dispute with him the high places of the public admiration.

If all this can be said of literary art, and of those who are engaged in it, what shall we say of artists of other professions and names? Why is it that so bad a flavor lingers around the opera-house and the theater? Why is it that the church protests against them? It is not that these institutions are necessarily bad. It is not that there are no good men and women among actors and actresses. It is because that from the dawn of the drama until the present time, the stage has been associated with unworthy lives, impure connections, the most degrading jealousies, the bitterest rivalries, and the most disgusting selfishness. Nobody knows this any better, or feels it more keenly when they stop to think at all, than the actors and musicians themselves. It is all shamefully and notoriously true. Does not music purify those who devote their lives to it? Not at all. Not in the slightest degree. There is no more reformatory or saving power in music than in the lowest of menial pursuits. The farmer who lives half the time among his brutes is likely to be a better man than he who, successfully interpreting some great master, bows nightly before the storms of popular applause.

Bear us witness, ye poets and actors, ye painters and sculptors, ye singers and players upon instruments, that your arts have not saved the most of you from becoming petty and selfish men and women. You are jealous of one another. You are greedy of praise and of the gold it brings. You know that there is nothing in your art that enlarges and liberalizes you, that restrains you from drunkenness and vices that shall not be named, that gives you sobriety and solidity of character, that enlarges your social sympathies, that naturally leads you into organizations for helping others outside of your own circle. Bear us witness, that you are not the men and women who are relied on for performing the duties of society. If all were like you,—if all were controlled by the ideas that dominate you,—if all shirked the duties of social and civil life like you,—if all were as much unfitted by their ideas and their employments as you are for carrying the great burdens of society, what do you suppose would become of the country, and what would become of the world?

Now, if there is anything in art that can take the place of religion, we should like to see it. If there is anything in culture that can take the place of religion, it has not yet revealed itself. Culture is centered in self. Self is the god and self is the model of all culture. Why should it not ultimate in selfishness? Culture assumes that what is present in a man needs only to be developed and harmonized to lift character to its highest point, and life to its highest issues. It carries no idea of self-surrender, which is the first fact in practical religion of any valuable sort, and the first fact in all good development. Greece and Rome had plenty of culture, and are still our teachers in art, but the beauty that looked upon them from every hill and gate and temple could not save them from their vices. By and by, culture will learn how powerless it is to make a man that shall be worth the making, and what poor instruments science and art are for uprooting the selfishness that rules the world. It is slowly learning this, and men who have bowed low to her have been touched with that divine discontent which nothing but religion can allay.

THE *Coöperative News* states that the men on strike and locked out in England and their families number three hundred thousand, and that there has already been a loss in wages of £525,000; and still there are no indications of a satisfactory adjustment.

RECEIVED.

LA QUESTION SOCIALE. Rent, Intérêt, Société de l'Avenir. Par E. Fauconnièr, Docteur en Droit. Paris: Librairie Germer Baillière et Cie. 1878.

THE NEWEST MATERIALISM: Sundry Papers on the Books of Mill, Comte, Bain, Spencer, Atkinson and Eeuerback. By William Maccall. London: Farrah, 282 Strand.

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

A true diamond will sparkle under water.

Calico only five cents a yard—now raise girls.

Baltimore is prepared to deal with its own mobs.

The Iowa Republicans don't recognize the President and his policy.

The English are excited over the buoyancy of their Stock Exchange.

If Bismarck wants to have peace in Europe he had better kill his ugly dog.

We are only at the beginning of "Commencement" news. The end is a long way off.

The gallows tree is bearing a good deal of fruit—six men hanged in one day last week.

That famous will of Peter the Great is in the *Atlantic* for July. It is believed to be authentic.

Baltimore has 25,000 persons engaged in the oyster business, and yet that city isn't a very austere place.

Please read "Thanatopsis" and say whether it is a pagan, positivist or pious poem. That is the question now.

Karategin is the name of a high Asian province, just discovered, whose people still live in primeval Communism.

No, Gail Hamilton. It was not John Gilpin who "had a frugal mind, though on pleasure bent." It was Mrs. Gilpin.

The European Congress only meets every other day, but the poor daily editor has to have something about it every day.

The English cotton strikes have come to an end, 'cause the strikers got so hungry. This makes one sad, but he has to mention it.

Where the money is there the claimants are. 2,500 is about the average number of claims that are made on the Treasury yearly

The New York dog-pound is full of business. Three hundred and thirty-six yelping curs have gone to their death by the watery way.

Don't forget, old boy, that you are a kind of steam-engine, and that you ought always to have your safety-valve and "governor" in working order.

Congress has adjourned at last, and we all feel rested. The Republican editors like to tell us that this Democratic assembly never had any proper leader.

Judge Gildersleeve of the New York Court of General Sessions has decided that a man can "dock" his horse's tail if he wants to, and the S. P. C. A. can't help itself.

And now Turkey rises to say that she never liked that treaty of San Stefano at all. It remains to be seen whether the powers will stop to consider her feeling anyhow.

Modern finance seems to consist in doing business with other folks' money, and in such a way that whatever happens it will be their money that is lost and not yours.

Wm. H. Vanderbilt doesn't expect any riots on his roads this summer. His men were put on full time April first, and their pay increased. William won't be disappointed.

The petroleum men of Northwestern Pennsylvania think they can't get along and thrive unless they put their oil into politics. They represent 20,000 votes, and want some favors.

The Scotch have a railway bridge across the Tay, at Dundee, 10,612 feet long: it is longer than the Victoria Bridge, Montreal, and the Britannia tubular bridge taken together.

The debt of Massachusetts is now about $33,000,000, or twice as much as that of the great State of New York, and five times as much as that of all the other New England States.

If you can't have those you love, then love those you have. This is a trite saying, but it is good common sense, and serviceable as a woolen blanket in winter and a pair of gum boots in a bog.

You can't tell how great a man is until you have measured his capacity for work. He may be nothing but a nimble shack who has climbed up to the top of a steeple and is only resting there.

A Judge on the Queen's Bench Division of High Court of Justice in Ireland has decided that servants may under certain circumstances claim a discharge, but they have no legal right to a "character."

Mr. Sherman said that he didn't think he wrote that letter to Anderson, and now Mrs. Jenks says that she wrote it herself. "If you say so, ma'am, then I'll give it up and say that I didn't write that letter at all."

We are told that the Congressional ass has gone home to refresh himself in the back pastures, and that business is picking up. A new call for 5-20s has been issued and a new offer of 4 per cents. has been made.

The time is approaching for the French to amend their constitution if they want to. They will have to hold some elections in view to that, and we may expect to see their caldron begin to boil and bubble by and by.

Think of Socrates, Plato, Phidias, Sophocles, Xantippe and Aristophanes the smutty, ye ambassadors assembled at Berlin, and then give Pan-Hellenism a lift. The insurgents in Crete are making a hard fight for liberty.

Congress did make an appropriation for the Fisheries Award, and the national honor is safe. If by a little tact Secretary Evarts can save us two or three millions of that money, it will be a credit to him, and no harm done.

Mr. Potter, the chairman of the Investigating Committee, is a gentleman and a scholar; he has a Bishop for an uncle, a handsome pair of eyes and side-whiskers that cannot be spoken against unless you want to be charged with envy.

Professer Forchhammer has set down his beer long enough to say that Schlieman's discoveries at Mycæne do not represent any pre-Hellenic art at all. The treasures found are nothing but the booty taken from the Persians at Platea, he surmises.

The old parties are going to pieces in California under the pressure of the Kearneyites and labor reforms. The workingmen have gained some decided victories in the late elections, and are likely to control the convention for the revision of the Constitution.

Mr. Potter doesn't think that the Southern war claims are likely to come in under his bill to relieve Congress of a large part of the work of adjudicating private claims by referring them to a Court of Claims, to be partly worked up before they are passed upon by that body.

"See there, Master Fenton. The Senate had rejected your appointment on the Silver Commission, then I came to the rescue and got you reäppointed and confirmed. Don't you see that I am master of the situation." That is what Mr. Conkling might say to his old rival in New York.

The schooner "Eöthen" set sail from New York on Wednesday, the 19th, to hunt after the remains of Sir John Franklin. The searching party consists of Lieutenant Schwatka, Colonel Gilder, Joseph Eberling, Henry W. Klutschak and Francis Melms. Esquimaux Joe goes with them.

The Rev. C. C. Burleigh, preacher, poet and lecturer, dead. One of the old abolitionists, with the undying instinct for liberty; a Connecticut man by birth; not in any way so conspicuous as Pilsbury or Phillips or Parker, yet before a common audience more effective than any one of them; clearly one of the world's heroes if not one of the saints.

There is no money to pay the expenses of the Commission that went down to quiet Louisiana after Mr. Hayes' inauguration. Ex-Gov. Brown, one of the Commissioners, sent the Secretary of the Treasury lately a check to defray his part—one-fifth—of the expenses, but the latter returned it with the President's assurance that there would be an appropriation after awhile.

The House Committee on Navy affairs, relating to Mr. Robeson's administration of the Navy Department, have, after accumulating a large mass of testimony, made a report recommending the indictment of the ex-Secretary and three of his subordinates for maladministration, waste and reckless disregard of law. Mr. Thompson has furnished a great part of the evidence.

Mrs. Sutherland Orr has a remarkable article in the last number of the *Nineteenth Century* on "The Future of English Women." She seems to have an idea that that blessed period won't be filled out with the love of one man, the care of his children and the sweet service of bringing him his slippers when he comes home from selling horse-pokes to keep the pot a-boiling.

"The Failure of Universal Suffrage" is to be the title of an article by Francis Parkman in the July number of the *North American Review*. Wendell Phillips will contribute to the same number a paper on "The Social and Political Outlook," in which he will discuss at length the money ques-

tion, the relations between capital and labor, and the prospects of party organizations.

George Law, who began life for himself as a hod-carrier, and who used some years ago to be talked about as well up the ladder among a small company of millionaires, has of late years dropped out of notice a little; but now he is mentioned again—as an old man whose interests in the horse-railways of New York have been affected by the introduction of steam and rapid transit.

A New York woman, writing to the *Graphic* on over-population and Mrs. Besant's case, says, "During a somewhat long residence in France I learned that the restriction of the increase of population in that country is brought about, not by the methods which high medical authorities assure us are fearfully prevalent in New England, but by the continence of married people. There certainly is no sin in this."

Swinburne has put out another volume of his "Poems and Ballads." The following stanza is the beginning of his "Year of the Rose," and will do for this month:

From the depth of the green garden-closes,
Where the Summer in darkness dozes,
Till Autumn pluck from his hand,
An hour-glass that holds not a sand,
From the maze that a flower-pot incloses
To the stones and sea grass on the strand,
How red was the reign of the roses
Over the rose crowned land!

Mrs. Tilton has been excommunicated for making that strange confession about the pastor of Plymouth Church. Now her old sisters in the spirit won't know her any more on the street, and they won't lend her their cook-books or a stew-kettle when she wants to make some cider apple-sauce. I tell you a Protestant excommunication can be rather annoying, but it is nothing to a regular excommunication from a church that really believes that it can send you to hell, and then proceeds to curse you in gross, and then in detail, item by item, all the way from head to foot, as the Catholics do in their greater excommunication.

The City of Washington seems to have got a permanent government at last. The Executive Government is to consist of three Commissioners, one of whom shall be an officer of the Corps of Engineers of the United States, and two of whom shall be appointed from civil life by the President on conference with the Senate. Congress has, by a "permanent act," pledged the nation to pay one-half of the expenses of the District Government, also one-half the cost of all public improvements. Congress of course retains full legislative powers and the power to reduce expenses as well as to refuse to carry on improvements. Popular suffrage is ignored, and the City becomes an integral part of the Government as much as any one of the Departments.

The European Congress is conducting its deliberations with a due regard to its own dignity and with a serene indifference to our passion for news. Very little beyond rumor has leaked out. It has been reported that Bismarck had demanded that the Russian troops should be withdrawn from San Stefano while the Congress is in session. In the meantime we hear that 16,000 Russian troops have arrived at San Stefano from Odessa, and that the Russians are collecting in the neighborhood of Varna. Austria and England are believed to be acting in concert in the Congress, and to have made some new and unexpected demands. This has put a stop to the progress of the conference, and the Russian ambassadors say they can't go any further till they get some new instructions from home. It is very natural that Russia should be unwilling to give up any of her hard-earned advantages set down in the treaty of San Stefano. The latest reports encourage us to believe that some substantial progress has been made. The boundary of Northern Bulgaria will be fixed at the Balkans, which the Turks will be allowed to fortify and garrison. Sophia will be included in Roumelia, and Varna in Bulgaria. Burgas will be retained by the Turks, while the northern frontier of Montenegro and the boundaries of Servia will be restricted, and compensation made by some increase on the south.

Colonel T. W. Higginson has been revisiting the scenes of his war experiences in South Carolina, Florida and Georgia. He reports in the *Atlantic* for July. Considering that he has always been a very radical and vigilant abolitionist, and likely to share in a lingering jealousy of the southern whites, where the rights of the negroes are concerned, it is very reassuring, and very refreshing, too, to have him come back and say so much that is encouraging about the freedmen of the South. He saw a good many men who had served under him. One of his surprises was to find the wife of one of his soldiers hoeing in a field where he had seen her hoeing fifteen years ago. This time with her feet "incased in red-striped stockings of the most conspicuous design," a free woman, and at work in her own field. Then a slave, barefooted, and at work on a master's land. "I found," says he, "one man on the St. Johns who had been offered $3,000 for his real estate." "It will hardly be believed that the men of my regiment alone sunk $30,000 in an impracticable building association, and in the purchase of a steamboat that was lost uninsured. One of the shrewdest among them, after taking his share of this, resolved to be prudent, put $750 into the Freedman's Bank, and lost that, too. Their present prosperity must be judged in the light of such formidable calamities as these," in which they learned wisdom. Mr. Higginson does not believe in any secret, subtle purpose on the part of the old masters to reënslave the blacks. "The Southern whites accept" the colored voters "precisely as Northern men in cities accept the ignorant Irish vote, not cheerfully, but with acquiescence in the inevitable; and when the strict color line is once broken they are just as ready to conciliate the negro as the Northern politician to flatter the Irishman."

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